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101 they apply to themselves, and draws from this the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." According to Morgan (Syst. Consang. and Affin., 285), the native name of the tribe is Metootahak, "South Villagers." Their relations so far as known historically and traditionally have been most intimate with the Hidatsa; yet, judged by the linguistic test, their position must be nearer the Winnebago. Matthews appears to consider the Hidatsa and Mandan descendants from the same immediate stem. Their traditions regarding their early history are scant and almost entirely mythological. All that can be gathered from them is the indication that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake. This tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke.

These references to the east and south in the Mandan traditions are encountered by those who have been among them, and they are to be found in narratives based upon the authorities or upon the personal experiences of visitors, who are quoted by some who have heard the accounts from them; and it will be seen in what follows from "Indian Sign Language," by W. P. Clark (Phila., L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1885) that according to one of his authorities the reference to "people of the east" is interpreted to mean "the position they first occupied in the village." This is in keeping with a similar reference to one of the Dakota tribes—the Ihanktonwans, or Yanktons, meaning "village at the end," and of the Ihanktonwannas, or Yanktonais, meaning the "end village." All of which tends to indicate that not the American continent, but mere location in a group of Indian villages, may account for some legend-phrases supposed by many to prove a habitat in some remote part of North America. It will be seen also that Clark brings in some evidences of habitation of the Mandans to northward of the upper Missouri. We quote his summary on the Mandans, to-wit:

●304 **Tribal Sign—Tattooing.** Mandan. Conception: Tattooing chin and lower sides of the face. These Indians are usually indicated by the same sign as that made for the Arickarees; but the proper tribal sign is to partially compress the right hand, bring tip of thumb near tips of fingers and tap the chin and lower part of the face several times with tips of the thumb and fingers. "I was told by Mr. Girard that tattooing was practiced when he

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first came among these people in 1849. The women had a line on the chin and a small spot on the forehead tattooed by the medicine man, whom they paid roundly for the work. The chiefs only, of the men, were tattooed, and on one side, or one-half of the breast, or one arm and breast. This was part of the ceremony when they were elected or made chiefs. They call themselves by a word which signifies 'people of the east,' but claim that this refers only to the position they first occupied in the village."

Migrations—From North? "Tradition among these Indians gives no definite account of their migrations other than the movements of their villages on the Missouri river; not, of course, considering the myth of their subterranean origin at Devil's Lake, Dakota. The Cheyennes, who are clearer in their traditions than most tribes, claim that the Mandans came from the north. Mr. Donald Gunn, in his 'History of Manitoba,' says: 'The Crees who visited the trading posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Assiniboines, who traded in 1678 with Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior, were about the same time put in possession of firearms, and within a few years thereafter they seemed as if by mutual consent to have made a simultaneous movement, the former pressing on to the southwest, the latter pursuing their course to the northwest, until they met in the region west of Lake Winnipeg, and on the plains of Red and Assiniboine rivers. Indian tradition informs us that during the first half of the last century the Mandans occupied the country to the southwest of Lake Winnipeg, and that they had been forced by the united efforts of their invaders to leave their hunting grounds and retire to the upper Missouri. How long it took these tribes to drive out those whom they found in possession of the country, and what wars they carried on to accomplish that object, are lost in the mist of years. However, we have had the evidence of a living witness to the fact that the Crees and the Assiniboines lived on the plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg for some years previous to the year 1780, and that they made a preconcerted attack that year on the trading posts on the Assiniboine."

"I am inclined to think that this statement is in the main correct, but believe that the Mandans were driven out of this part of the country (adjacent to Lake Winnipeg) at an earlier date, for we find them located on the Missouri in 1772, with evidences of their having been there for many years." (P. 239.)

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342 513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort 251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, 436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it ●304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of 285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like 323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every 261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share 141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

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with us; the rest of the Indians following on shore. At one mile beyond the camp we passed a small creek, and at three[4] more a bluff of coal of an inferior quality on the south. After making eleven miles we reached an old field where the Mandans had cultivated grain last summer, and encamped for the night on the south side, about half a mile below the first village of the Mandans. In the morning, we had a willow low ground on the south and highland on the north, which occasionally varied in the course of the day. There is but little wood on this part of the river, which is here subdivided into many channels and obstructed by sandbars. As soon as we arrived a crowd of men, women and children came down to see us.

First Meeting of the Mandans. "Captain Lewis returned with the principal chiefs to the village, while the others remained with us during the evening; the object which seemed to surprise them most was a corn-mill fixed to the boat which we had occasion to use, and delighted them by the ease which it reduced the grain to powder. Among others who visited us was the son of the grand chief of the Mandans, who had his two little fingers cut off at the second joints. On inquiring into this accident, we found that it was customary to express grief for the death of relations by some corporal suffering, and that the usual mode was to lose two joints of the little fingers, or sometimes the other fingers. The wind blew very cold in the evening from the southwest. Two of the party were afflicted with rheumatic complaints." (id 159)

The Interpreter. "Saturday, October 27th. At an early hour we proceeded and anchored off the village. Captain Clarke went on shore, and after smoking a pipe with the chiefs, was desired to remain and eat with them. He declined on account of his being unwell; but his refusal gave great offense to the Indians, who considered it disrespectful not to eat when invited, till the cause was explained to their satisfaction. We sent them some tobacco, and then proceeded to the second village, on the north passing by a bank containing coal, and a second village, and encamped at four miles on the north, opposite to a village of Ahnahaways. We here met with a Frenchman, named Jesseaume, who lived among the Indians with his wife and children, and whom we take as an interpreter. The Indians had flocked to the bank to see us as we passed, and they visited in great numbers the camp, where some

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 1 (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded.

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties.

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him.

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan.

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.
3. See chap. vii below.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood, and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one. It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields.

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place.

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or

[1] Maximilian: p. 465.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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764 face towards his old Village Down the river, that he might go Streight to his brother at their old village under ground." When a warrior was killed in battle he was never buried. If the body could not be carried back to the village, it was left as it lay.[1] In such a case the family would roll up a buffalo skin and carry it out, placing it on the scaffold where it was treated just as if it held the body of the dead man.

Catlin says that when the rods supporting the body broke and the body fell, the family interred all of the bones except the skull. Such skulls were placed eight or nine feet apart, in circles; one hundred or more in a circle; in the center of each circle was a small mound about three feet high. On this mound were two buffalo skulls, a male and a female, and in the center was a medicine pole twenty feet high supporting many medicine articles. Each skull was on a bunch of wild sage.

764 304 The Mandan period of mourning was one year, during which they dressed poorly and kept the hair cut short. Immediately upon the death, the relatives cut their hair, rubbed their bodies with white and gray clay, and gashed their arms and legs with a knife or a stone so that they were covered with blood. In the first few days groans and weeping were continuous. According to Maximilian there was a very solemn ceremony concluding the burial, which he called covering the body. This act might be done either by a relative or an outsider. The person who intended to cover the body came with one or two cloth coverings, red, blue, white or green. He mounted the scaffold as soon as the body was placed upon it and covered the remains with his covering. He then received a present of a horse from the immediate relatives. When it was learned that someone intended to cover the dead, a horse was at once tied to the scaffold and as soon as the body had been covered the horse was untied and led away by the man who had performed that office.[2] Gifts of value were hung all about the scaffold and these gifts were presented to those who had assisted in preparing and placing the body upon it.

[1] Maximilian: p. 472.

[2] Ibid., p. 481.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 292 535 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 432 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (ptĭ'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 [304] 527 292 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin. Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated [302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, 1, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

wanting even in old people, though, in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty robust, and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they, in some respects, have a natural conformation, such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing, in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means.* The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long, narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There were several deaf and dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goitres, or, rather, thick necks among the women, are, doubtless, caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations.

The colour of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes reddish, more or less dark, which might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper colour. In some it is more of a greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some colour in their cheeks.† They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea. These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colours, with footsteps of bears or buffaloes carved on it. Nay, sometimes these

* Hanc deformitatem a viris ipsis ut dicunt, tractibus saepe repetitis producitur. In nonnullis labia externa in orbem tres ad quatuor digitos transversos prominent; in aliis labia interna valde pendent; immo virorum aes in partibus ipsis figuras artificiose factas fecerint.

Feminae hac mutilatae earum parvi aestimantur, et neglectae sunt.

Mariti ea in Mandanis, Matmitarriis, et in Crows, magis autem in Matmitarriis; in Mandanis, a mulieribus dissolutis, magis quam ab exemplum hic mos perversus adhibitur.

† Volney has many inaccuracies in what he says of the colour of the Indians. (Vol. II. p. 435.) According to him, the children are born quite white like the Europeans; that the women are white on the thighs, hips, and lower parts of the body, where the skin is covered by the clothing; that it is wholly erroneous to suppose that the copper colour is natural to them, &c. Mr. Von Humboldt has long since refuted all these assertions.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, [424] which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

796 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in
785 the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the
304 afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of

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the schischikué. Some already begin to suffer the tortures: they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

FOURTH DAY OF THE OKIPPE.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are cut about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible

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796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witnes s among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

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778 782 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

787 782 789 304 Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

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765 They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

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him from the cords by which he has been hung up; but leaving all the others with their weights, &c. hanging to his flesh.

In this condition he lies for six or eight minutes, until he gets strength to rise and move himself, for no one is allowed to assist or offer him aid, as he is here enjoying the most valued privilege which a Mandan can boast of, that of "trusting his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit," in this time of extreme peril.

As soon as he is seen to get strength enough to rise on his hands and feet, and drag his body around the lodge, he crawls with the weights still hanging to his body, to another part of the lodge, where there is another Indian sitting with a hatchet in his hand, and a dried buffalo skull before him; and here, in the most earnest and humble manner, by holding up the little finger of his left hand to the Great Spirit, he expresses to Him, in a speech of a few words, his willingness to give it as a sacrifice; when he lays it on the dried buffalo skull, where the other chops it off near the hand, with a blow of the hatchet!

Nearly all of the young men whom I saw passing this horrid ordeal, gave in the above manner, the little finger of the left hand; and I saw also several, who immediately afterwards (and apparently with very little concern or emotion), with a similar speech, extended in the same way, the *fore*-finger of the same hand, and that too was struck off; leaving on the left hand only the two middle fingers and the thumb; all which they deem absolutely essential for holding the bow, the only weapon for the left hand.

One would think that this mutilation had thus been carried quite far enough; but I have since examined several of the head chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe, who have also given, in this manner, the little finger of the right hand, which is considered by them to be a much greater sacrifice than both of the others; and I have found also a number of their most famous men, who furnish me incontestible proof, by five or six corresponding scars on each arm, and each breast, and each leg, that they had so many times in their lives submitted to this almost incredible operation, which seems to be optional with them; and the oftener they volunteer to go through it, the more famous they become in the estimation of their tribe.

No bandages are applied to the fingers which have been amputated, nor any arteries taken up; nor is any attention whatever, paid to them or the other wounds; but they are left (as they say) "for the Great Spirit to cure, who will surely take good care of them." It is a remarkable fact (which I learned from a close inspection of their wounds from day to day) that the bleeding is but very slight and soon ceases, probably from the fact of their extreme exhaustion and debility, caused by want of sustenance and sleep, which checks the natural circulation, and admirably at the same time prepares them to meet the severity of these tortures without the same degree of sensibility and pain, which, under other circumstances, might result in inflammation and death.

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 2] - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

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two forefingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance, on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened 1 1/2 fathams of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not [365] attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend, with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

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304 785 They have another custom of putting their courage and contempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably 304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at 684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish- [576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given 837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many [164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's 609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found [432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without